1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

787 And finally at about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and, like Hatchawa, urged me to drink of the shaman's drink. I had to
791 drink a gourd full of it, since it was held to my lips until I finished it. She gave me messages similar to the others. Finally other Yarures came, and the shaman eventually returned, being greeted with affection by all. We stopped when the sun rose and began another day of primitive life. We had danced and sung almost continuously for 36 hours.

This was my reception among the Yaruros after my return from La Urbana. We talked day and night about religion, and about
606 the world in which we lived. I learned that a mother-in-law and
582 son-in-law must never look upon each other and never talk to each
604 other, though they must be careful to do each other service; that a man must marry his first cousin, and that socially he is under obligation to his maternal uncle who later becomes his father-in-law. Under Landaeta's tutelage the material in this report was compiled. In a sense, therefore, this is his report.

124 One day I announced to Landaeta that I would have to leave in the
123 near future, giving as a reason that my wife and child needed me at home. Actually, there were other considerations; my physical condition was becoming worse, though the sores on my feet were a little better; and for the time being I had quietly exhausted the possibilities of obtaining fresh material from my friends. After all, we had been in contact with each other for six weeks, the major portion of it living communely and conversing with the shaman continuously day after day, sometimes even from sunrise to sunrise. My daily schedule consisted of rising at sunrise, drinking a little coffee sometimes brought to me by Landaeta, and immediately plunging into discussions of religious themes. This would last up to about 10 o'clock when Landaeta would withdraw and busy himself making string or carving gourds for several hours. During this period I would seek clarification of some points from whomsoever was present, or work on social organization, or on genealogy. In the early afternoon Landaeta would be back with new material, new ideas, having thought over what he had said, what I had said, and what still needed to be said. This would continue until sundown.

521 Then there was a short intermission for dinner, but soon afterwards I was hurried over to the eastern edge of the camp, where Landaeta and his people sat after dinner, and there we would sit while the women made cigars for us, talking about mythology, religion and general philosophical concepts. These discussions would last until 10 or 11 o'clock, and often much later, and not rarely shamanistic

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

621 596 rarely is there need to enlist the services of persons outside the family group for it.

A typical hunting family will consist of the "old man," his wife, their unmarried sons, unmarried and married daughters, their sons-in-law, perhaps an unmarried brother or two, or without a father-in-law with whom to live, the parents-in-law unless they be dead, and the grandchildren, that is, the children of the daughters. To this nucleus there may be attached, temporarily, stragglers from other groups, old people and young children without relatives to take care of them, and visiting children of the man's sisters.

When two hunting groups meet very often they will camp together for a few days. If food is plentiful they may spend some of the time in merrymaking. Those bands which are in touch with the ranchers may gather together to perform a given piece of work for the meager pay that they may receive.

621 178 In actual practice it is almost impossible for a hunting group to consist of a theoretical family as described. This is especially true now that the Yaruros are disappearing so rapidly. The women may have a series of husbands, as if one dies, or is killed, and the men may have a series of wives. Any genealogical table, therefore, is very confused.

616 621 596 The group of El Burron consisted of the following: Two sisters who had been married to Fauste, a cross-cousin but who was now dead; one of these women, Agapita, had two daughters, both of whom married. Isabel, one of these daughters, was dead at the time of my visit, but she had two children, a boy and a girl, who were still living. Her sister had married, lost her husband, but had four children, all living. The sister of the old woman, Agapita, had a boy and a girl, both of whom were living with the group. Fauste had a brother and a sister, now very old, and both living with the group. His brother had a daughter, Maria, who was also living with the group. On analysis we find, therefore, that, as the group existed at the time of my visit, there were twelve members of the Puaná moiety and three members of the Itciai moiety (fig. 23).

The other groups met show a greater confusion. So many individuals had died that there was no fixed form for any group. In some cases the groups would consist of several middle-aged men and women with wives and children and in other groups, such as Landaeta's and Pablo Reyes', they were led by old men—shamans. It is 601 because of the breakdown of the social system under current conditions that the genealogies are not reproduced in this study at this time.

606 604 This confusion affects the social relationships between various individuals. For instance, one Garcia was married to Landaeta's

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

606 daughter, but he should have married the daughter of one Juan
604 Bario, who was a parallel cousin of Landaeta, therefore, he actually married not his immediate cross cousin, but his cross cousin once removed. He kept strictly within the cross moiety marriage rule. However, this marriage brought complications in his life, because for all practical purposes he had two fathers-in-law to take care of rather than one. He solved this problem by living with Landaeta, his wife's father, half of the week, and the other half he spent with his uncle,

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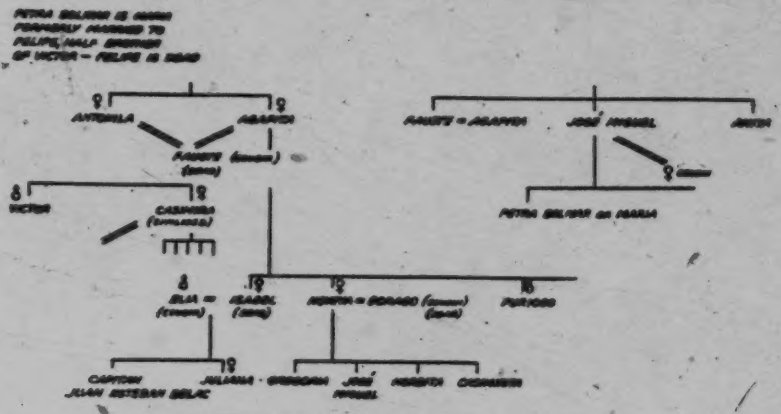

FIGURE 28.—Yaruro family hunting group at El Burro.

606 Juan Bario, whose daughter he would have married if she had lived.
604 The sense of service which he owed to his true uncle, his mother's brother, was strong enough to persist, even though it visited a hardship on him.

616 Within the tribal organization the individual looks to his moiety
476 for guidance, protection, and social intercourse. In return for this he is obligated to members of his moiety in a variety of ways. He acknowledges their affinity to him by seeking their company, by hunting together with them, and by sharing his food with them.

622 In the family hunting group its head is socially a stranger to most
593 of the people around him. Indeed, if he has no sisters or has sis-
626 ters who do not have any sons and has no brothers living with him, then socially he is almost out of place in the family hunting group. His wife, of course, belongs to the opposite moiety, and the children trace their descent through the mother. His wife's mother, sisters, brothers and their children belong to the same moiety
604 as herself. When his own children are old enough to take part in
593 hunting they look to their mother and to her brother, or brothers, for
476 guidance and it is toward the latter that they have all sorts of social obligations. To their father they show respect, but to the mother's

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

601 marriage she called also "nyowuh", are referred to as "keramai". The father-in-law calls his son-in-law "haiméma'", which means "the one my daughter married", and the son-in-law calls his father-in-law "huíteh". His mother-in-law, whom he never addresses directly, he [606] refers to as "kaikamúe". The girl refers to her father-in-law as "kuinté". Before marriage the boy would have called his uncle, the brother of his mother, "húidemái".

616 There do not seem to be any rites or ceremonies from which members of the opposite moiety are excluded. According to my informants, the Puaná clan moiety is preeminent over the Itciai moiety, therefore the person recognized as its head is considered to be the [578] chief of the Yaruros. There is no resentment, as far as I was able to learn, to this arrangement. Primarily, I suppose, because the biological descendants of an individual pass from one moiety to another and therefore share in its prerogatives. The Yaruros' social concepts in respect to moiety membership is best expressed by reciprocal duties, obligations, and prerogatives. Under the elementary local system the son-in-law is almost a guest among his wife's people with whom he goes to live. During the rainy season when more permanent shelters are built, according to my informants, they have more ceremonies, during one of which the unmarried boys of one moiety then sit in the house of the other moiety.

616 Although there is no exclusion of the members of the opposite
796 moiety in the ceremonies, if the shaman is of the Puaná moiety,
791 those that sit closest to him are members of his own moiety. But even in this case the other moiety is represented, and in fact indirectly serves him. His own wife sits at his right and it is she who assists him when her help is needed by handing to him the various pieces of his paraphernalia and tobacco. It is she, likewise, who prepares the various drinks. The rest of the members of her moiety, if they happen to be present, take their places following the members of the shaman's moiety.

604 When a man is undertaking a hunt or wishes to build a canoe he
476 calls on his nephews, that is, his sister's sons, for help, and they are obligated to be at his service. This obligation and service, which begins as soon as the boy begins to understand his position in the society, lasts a lifetime. When the uncle or uncles become too feeble to hunt for themselves it is these nephews who supply them with food and everything else they may need. This service may be interpreted as compensation to the uncles for their daughters who become the wives of these youths. But there was no indication that it was so considered by the Yaruro.

593 h. A man, therefore, does not have the services nor the social life of
604 his children, but has to look to his sister's womb for individuals to educate and to assist him.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

587 any of his brothers die he falls heir to the brother's wife or wives, who may be sisters or sisters of his own wife; likewise, should his mother's brother die his wife or wives, who is one of the group of his wife's mother's sister, would also become his wife. This system can be 582 made plainer by examining figure 24. By following the moiety relationship one can see just whom the individual is allowed to marry. If it is considered that any of these individuals may actually become his wife, either because there are no other women of his own age group available, or because they have lost their own husbands, and therefore need a protector, the system becomes clear.

IN-LAW RELATIONS

[591] Cross-cousin marriage being the prevalent type, it means that the son of a man's sister will marry his daughter and come to live with 606 him. As soon as that happens a number of social taboos are imposed on the in-laws. The son-in-law from the time that he marries is prohibited from speaking to his mother-in-law, although he lives with the same hunting group and may even travel in the same canoe with her; he cannot eat before her or even near her; he cannot go close to her, even though his bows and arrows may be lying there; he cannot hand her any object; he cannot make his personal toilet in front of her; he cannot sing or dance close to her; he cannot travel alone with his mother-in-law, and if they are forced to travel together in a canoe with the wife of the son-in-law as one of the party, he takes his position in the bow and the mother-in-law sits in the stern. These taboos are reciprocal. If the two meet in a path they turn aside and go in opposite directions.

These taboos are the more remarkable since there are positive duties owed one in-law to the other. The son-in-law is obligated to supply food and protection to his mother-in-law. It is his duty to prepare firewood and bring her materials which she may need to make basketry. It is expected that he will gather delicacies for her, such as honey. On the other hand, his mother-in-law will often prepare food for her son-in-law, will make pouches for him, and show him favors in other ways. But these favors must be transmitted through the wife and daughter, or through other persons. In camp I have seen mother-in-law and son-in-law sitting with backs to each other hour after hour, day after day, never exchanging a word, always averting their eyes from the other's person.

Similar taboos are practiced between the father-in-law and daughter-in-law, but because the girl lives with her parents they weigh less heavily upon her and her father-in-law, since they rarely [835] meet. The taboos, though, are more strictly observed, probably on account of the sexual temptation.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

LIFE AFTER DEATH

761 775 To the modern Yaruro death is a desirable event. It holds great promise rather than terror for him. He believes that the dead will continue to live in the Land of Kuma. That is, in the land of the Mother Goddess, where he will be restored to a life of pristine happiness in the world which is identical with that which existed before the coming of the white man. In that world, in the Land of Kuma, he will have freedom to hunt if he pleases, he will have an abundance of food, he will have horses, cattle, and tobacco. He will lead a life of eternal bliss, watching over the affairs of his relatives and descendants on this earth, visiting them occasionally through the shaman and conversing with them. Apparently his only wish is that his people will die and join him in the Land of Kuma at the earliest possible time. A better idea of this life after death can be obtained by turning to the chapters on the shamanistic performances and legends.

PLAY

522 152 The spirit of play is known to the Yaruros. In fact, they laugh so much and so often that one might get the impression that they take life very lightly. For instance, their response to any accident is laughter. A man may fall out of his canoe or hurt himself in some way, or a woman may break a pot; any such accident is taken as a fine joke by everyone else.

616 606 There is inner-moiety and joking relationship, but members of one moiety do not play pranks on members of the other moiety. In fact, even in camp the mother-in-law will keep aloof from any levity engaged in by the son-in-law, and vice versa.

533 535 524 In the dancing and singing there is gaiety, especially when Puaná visits his people. Then is a time for much laughter and joking. However, there is no formalized play among the Yaruros. Anciently it is reported that the Otomacos had a ball game. Gilii has given us a description of it.[8]

857 462 861 The most common form of play among the children is an imitation of the activities of the grown-ups. The little boys will pretend that they are hunting and fishing or canoeing; the little girls will pretend that they are making pottery, basketry, or painting their bodies. The toys which the children use are miniature implements of hunting and food gathering. The only objects made differently for children to play with which are not an imitation of anything used by the adults are small clay figures representing human beings. These are arranged by the child in imitation of human beings dancing around

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[8] If the Yaruros knew this ball game they have forgotten it since then.